

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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P R 061400Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6079

INFO USUN NEW YORK 0563

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 0032

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RO US

SUBJ: VISIT OF ROMANIAN SPECIAL ENVOY TO US

REF: (A) STATE 001398

(B) BUCHAREST 6673

(C) STATE 000643

(D) BUCHAREST 0031

1. I DELAYED RESPONDING TO YOUR QUERY ABOUT WHAT MIGHT BE BEHIND CEAUSESCU'S SENDING A SPECIAL ENVOY UNTIL I HAD HAD A CHANCE TO SEE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER PACOSTE WHO HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY MACOVESCU TO TALK TO ME ABOUT ROMANIA'S UN SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE (REFTEL B). AS IT TURNED OUT PACOSTE SAID MACOVESCU'S INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN OVERTAKEN BY THE PRESIDENTIAL DECISION TO SEND PUNGAN, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE US ROLE IN THE UN WAS SO KEY IT WAS BEST TO HAVE THE DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON. PACOSTE ADDED THAT HE THEREFORE WOULD NOT GO INTO EITHER THE UN QUESTION OR THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS TO ANY EXTENT IF ONLY BECAUSE HE HIMSELF DID NOT KNOW THE EXTENT OF PUNGAN'S MANDATE. (I WONDER NOW IF MACOVESCU HIMSELF KNEW ON DECEMBER 30 OF CEAUSESCU'S PLAN.)

2. PACOSTE AND I THEREFORE HAD A PRETTY GENERAL DISCUSSION, IN WHICH I DREW WHERE USEFUL ON REFTEL C ON THE UN TO URGE A  
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MODERATING ROLE EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR ROMANIA.

PACOSTE AGREED THAT ROMANIA'S SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE WILL NOT BE EASY ONE AMID CONTENDING AND OFTEN STRIDENT UN PRESSURES BUT SAID GOR INTENDS AS ALWAYS TO TREAD PATH OF MODERATION, AVOIDING CONFRONTATIONS, AND WORKING CONSTRUCTIVELY FOR POLITICAL SOLUTIONS. HE SAID GOR LOOKS FORWARD TO CONSULTING CLOSELY AND REGULARLY WITH US IN NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, AND BUCHAREST PRECISELY BECAUSE IT SEES ITS ROLE AS A MODERATING ONE.

3. WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST, HE LIMITED HIMSELF TO SAYING THAT DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO ISRAEL HE WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE AMOUNT OF DISCUSSION GOING ON THERE ABOUT THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND THAT HE HOPED THE US WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL (MORE THAN ROMANIA HAD BEEN) IN PERSUADING ISRAEL TO TAKE PART IN THE SC ME DEBATE. PACOSTE HIMSELF LEAVES TODAY FOR SYRIA, JORDAN AND EGYPT (VISIT WILL NOT BE PUBLICIZED) AND HE EXPECTS PUNGAN WILL HAVE THE BENEFIT OF AT LEAST SOME REPORTS FROM THESE VISITS. HE SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD TO FILL ME IN ON THEM WHEN HE RETURNS.

4. IN DISCUSSING THE ANGOLA QUESTION (SEPTTEL) I ASKED PACOSTE IF PUNGAN WOULD GET INTO THAT MATTER IN WASHINGTON. PACOSTE SAID HE MIGHT, BUT WAS NOT SURE.

5. COMMENT. MY OWN THOUGHTS ARE THAT: (A) CEAUSESCU IS USING PUNGAN VISIT AS GOOD CHANCE TO REEMPHASIZE SPECIAL US-ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP PARTICULARLY IN ME PROBLEM WHERE ROMANIANS HAVE LONG FELT AND HOPED THEY COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE AND NOW SEE SECURITY COUNCIL AS OFFERING REAL OPPORTUNITY PARTICULARLY ON PALESTINIAN QUESTION. WASHINGTON CONTACT CLOSE TO ALLON'S VISIT GIVES CEAUSESCU ADDED STATUS WITH ARABS. AS WE KNOW FROM PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH CEAUSESCU ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HE HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO CARVE OUT AN INTER-MEDIARY ROLE FOR HIMSELF. HE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE ON THIS SCORE IN RECENT MONTHS AND THEREFORE WHAT PUNGAN HAS TO SAY MAY NEED TO BE LISTENED TO WITH SKEPTICAL INTEREST. AT THE SAME TIME CEAUSESCU HAS MANAGED, DESPITE SOME AWKWARD MOMENTS, TO KEEP ON REASONABLY GOOD TERMS WITH BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS. I SUSPECT THE CHANCES ARE GOOD PUNGAN WILL REPORT THAT CEAUSESCU IS EVEN MORE CERTAIN THAT ON THE BASIS OF HIS RECENT TALKS WITH ARAFAT AND OTHER ARAB LEADERS

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IF WE WILL ONLY MAKE THE FIRST MOVE IN ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO ALL ELSE WILL BEGIN TO FALL IN PLACE. (B) CEAUSESCU ALSO SEES VISIT AS A WAY TO SHARE CONCERN OVER THE SERIES OF SQUEEZES ROMANIA WILL FIND ITSELF IN AS AN SC MEMBER AND TO SEEK US UNDERSTANDING (E.G. ANGOLA, SOUTH AFRICA, OTHER THIRD WORLD SENSITIVE ISSUES). GIVEN CEAUSESCU'S AMBITION TO ATTEND COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, ROMANIA IS GOING TO HAVE TO BE MORE NIMBLE THAN USUAL TO AVOID OFFENDING BOTH

US AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND WILL TRY TO GET MORE THAN THE USUAL SHARE OF US SYMPATHY FOR ANY LEANING TOWARD THE NON-ALIGNED. (C) CEAUSESCU HAS SHOWN NO SIGNS OF GIVING IN TO THE SOVIETS ON ANY MAJOR POINTS (CEMA, WARSAW PACT, ECPC, RELATIONS WITH CHINA). ON THE CONTRARY HE SEEMS TO BE HOLDING EVEN FIRMER. HIS ACCEPTANCE AT COLOMBO THEREFORE HAS IMPLICATIONS NOT ONLY FOR HIS OWN VANITY BUT AS A CONFIRMATION OF ROMANIA'S MOVING ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT STEP AWAY FROM SOVIET CONTROL. ON THIS BASIS, I COULD BELIEVE THAT PUNGAN MAY BE PREPARED TO SHARE CEAUSESCU'S CURRENT EVALUATION OF SOVIET PRESSURES FOR GREATER CONFORMITY. WE SHOULD USE THE OCCASION OURSELVES TO GET ROMANIAN VIEWS ON THIS TOPIC AS WELL AS THE RELATED ONE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA. (D) LASTLY, GIVEN PUNGAN'S ROLE AS CEAUSESCU'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADVISER, HE MAY BE ASKED TO RAISE ONCE AGAIN ROMANIAN HOPES FOR SOME FORM OF CONCESSIONAL CREDITS OR MIGHT TOUCH ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR ROMANIAN INTEREST IN NUCLEAR POWER REACTORS. (E) ON THE QUESTION OF ROMANIA'S ROLE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT FOR US TO SERVE SOME PRETTY STRONG TEA WITH OUR SYMPATHY AND TO TELL PUNGAN THAT WE EXPECT ROMANIA TO DEMONSTRATE IN PRACTICE AND WHERE NEEDED IN PUBLIC THE PRAGMATIC, RESPONSIBLE MODERATING ROLE IT CLAIMS FOR ITSELF. BARNES

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 1398, 75 BUCHAREST 6673, 76 STATE 643  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** VISIT OF ROMANIAN SPECIAL ENVOY TO US  
**TAGS:** PFOR, OVIP, RO, US, (PUNGAN, VASILE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006